another unless there is a special occasion. The main social group, therefore, is the clan village, which constitute a unit of close relationship. The clan village is based on two factors: (1) blood kinship, all clan members being the descendants of a common paternal ancestor; (2) geographical area, the village being the basis of the living conditions of the people. In other words, the clan village is a combination of two important elements: blood relationship and geographical relationship. Later when we come to discuss the subject of clan feuds, we shall see more clearly the importance of the clan village. The target of a clan feud is often the enemy village, and to attack it is to satisfy the desires for plundering, killing, and kidnapping. For this reason, the cohesive force of a clan village is especially strong in its aim to preserve the dignity of the clan and to protect from enemy invasion the land inherited from clan ancestors.

The cohesion of a clan village usually relies on the political organization within the clan, the leadership of the village head, and other factors. Strangely enough, the Lolo not only have no modern political organization, but also no definite pattern of leadership. They are unlike the natives of Australia where the eldest member of the clan holds political power. They are also unlike the Chinese clans of Fukien and Kwangtung where the oldest man of the oldest generation becomes the clan chief. Leadership of a Lolo clan depends completely upon the individual's ability. All the members of the clan would automatically submit to a man noted for his success in fighting in the clan feud and for efficiency in managing clan affairs. This person [19] must have the courage to fight for justice and to take into his own hands the administration of clan affairs. Whenever something happens in the village, he assembles all the clan members and issues orders. In this way he gradually assumes the position of leadership. For instance, the leader of San-ho-i-ta village was formerly Li-ch'ü Chih-t'ieh, who in 1940 was employed as pao-t'ou [headman-protector] by the Education Commission of the Szechwan Provincial Government. The word pao-t'ou is used by the frontier people to denote a black Lolo leader. Anyone who is strong enough to protect other members of the clan and their wa-tzu [slaves] and property automatically becomes a pao-t'ou. So the Han-Chinese who come to a black Lolo for protection also call him pao-t'ou. Chih-t'ieh, the most influential black Lolo in San-ho-i-ta village, was called ying tu-tu by the natives. This is a Lolo term for a very influential and powerful man, and the greater his

614 power is, the more ying [strong, lit., hard or tough] he be-
622 comes. So anyone who is powerful enough to be pao-t'ou is
555 ying tu-tu. Chih-t'ieh died a few years ago. Following his death, his power and influence came to an end. The position of leadership is achieved by a Lolo through his own individual accomplishments. It remains with him during his lifetime, but is not hereditary.

After Chih-t'ieh's death, his successor was not his own son, but his cousin, named Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, who was descended from the same paternal great-grandfather. Ta-chi, now thirty-five years old, is a capable and competent black Lolo. When the
159 author made this investigation trip to Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-
555 liang Shan, Ta-chi was employed as pao-t'ou for the team. Ta-chi's father, Ch'uan-erh, was a pao-t'ou around the Ma-ching-tzu area. In the rebellion of 1919, he was one of the chief instigators. After the riot he returned to his native village of San-ho-i-ta and died there of sickness afterwards. During that time Ta-chi, who was only eleven years old, was left a poor lonely orphan with no one to support him. After more than ten years of hard struggle, he finally managed to get ahead, later married, and had children. Gradually he has accumulated some savings and is now considered a wealthy man in San-ho-i-ta. Ta-chi has two younger sisters. The elder one was married to Hu Hsing-min who lived in Wu-chio west of Lei-po. Five or six years ago, Hu Hsing-min died and was survived by his wife and two young daughters. In order to help his sister manage her household
[593] affairs, Ta-chi often traveled back and forth between Lei-po and Ta-liang Shan. Having had more contact with the Han-
[177] Chinese and learned more about things in the outside world than the others, he is one of the comparatively enlightened black Lolo in Liang Shan. Because of his popularity, Ta-chi soon became the leader of the Li-ch'ü branch of San-ho-i-ta to succeed Chih-t'ieh. This time when Ta-chi led the author and his inspection team to the mountain region, it was his first assignment as headman-protector of the Han-Chinese traveling in Liang Shan. For this trip he was branded a Han-Chinese by
[609] two of his clan uncles in the village. Lolo [20] hostility towards outsiders can readily be seen from this instance.

622 Ma-liu Wan in Hsiao-liang Shan is also a Li-ch'ü vil-
614 lage. Its chief, Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u, was formerly a well-known rebellious Lolo, but in his old age he changed his attitude by submitting to government rule and living quietly as the head-
682 man in Ma-liu Wan. Pieh-t'u had a son who was intelligent
614 and smart. Once he was playing with pistols with Ta-i, Pieh-
555 t'u's clan nephew, in front of Shan-wang Miao and was

accidentally shot to death by Ta-i. According to Lolo custom, a clan member who kills another has to pay with his life. So Pieh-t'u killed a cow to entertain all the clan members who agreed to Ta-i's death. Ta-i tried to commit suicide by taking poison, but it failed to kill him. Soon afterwards, Pieh-t'u suddenly died, and Ta-i was spared his life as no one really wanted to force him to die. In July this year, a small group of soldiers stationed at Lei-po came to Ma-liu Wan to cut wood for fuel, but the Lolo thought that the soldiers came to search for opium because the village is an important opium trading post between the Han-Chinese and Lolo. As a result of this misunderstanding, members of the Li-ch'ü branch took up arms under Ta-i's leadership to defend themselves from the soldiers and a conflict ensued. Since then the Lolo in Ma-liu Wan village have been hostile to the soldiers, and there have been several skirmishes in which Ta-i was always the leader. He, too, has managed to settle clan affairs and has undertaken negotiations with the Han-Chinese. Thus he is ascending very rapidly to the leadership of the Li-ch'ü branch in Ma-liu Wan. It is evident that the Lolo position of leadership depends entirely upon the individual's personal competence, especially his ability to assemble all the clan members and to issue orders for combat, immediately after which he will be recognized by the public as their leader and protector.

Although they are dispersed in distant villages, members of the same branch still recognize their clan relationship and maintain friendly intercourse. There can be no feud among members of the same clan as feuds are fought only between different clans. The author's trip to Ma-liu Wan was just about at the time when Li-ch'ü Ta-i had these feuds with the Han-Chinese soldiers and people. So the author was advised to be cautious. But our Lolo headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, assured us that there would be no danger as he was related to Ta-i as younger uncle (1) in the same branch of

1. Ed., lit., "father's younger brother," which refers to a person of the father's generation who is "younger," by kinship reckoning, than the father, but is not necessarily a blood brother of the father himself.

the clan, and both being well-known black Lolo leaders they would respect each other's "face." As expected, when we arrived at Shan-wang Miao, the three white Lolo who guarded

for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and gradually changed in form and direction.

Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the payment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers, father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately had to return home for business before his graduation. It happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i, however, who had recently received an education, knew that the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother, the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not settled today.

On conclusion, within the framework of clan kinship, the Lolo are encouraged to unite together and share collective responsibility so that clan members would not fight each other in a feud, and anyone who kills a member of his clan must pay with his own life. However, in external clan relationships, the clan feud is an important structure in their social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan feuds generation after generation, their young men first learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.

which account partly for its persistence up to the present time. Recently many people have advocated liberating the Pê-I (Wa-tzu) or inciting them to revolt against the Heh-I, but they do not know that the majority of the Wa-tzu are quite content with their lot and do not desire change. (The Chinese captives reduced to the status of Wa-tzu are of course an exception.) Not only is it impossible to incite the Wa-tzu to revolt; it is even difficult to persuade them to escape from the I region and the Heh-I's rule. Naturally they are not to be blamed, for although they are slaves under the present system, at least their livelihood is not a problem. But if they should escape into unsympathetic societies where no one would have concern for them, they will immediately face the difficult problem of food and survival. To speak of liberty with an empty stomach is never easy. In order to rehabilitate the I region successfully, it is necessary to devise a suitable economic and social system to replace the present Wa-tzu system. Empty talk will not only fail to ameliorate the living conditions of the I people but might even increase their sufferings.

There are also distinctions of rank among the Wa-tzu of Liang-shan. The talented and capable Wa-tzu, or those who have been closely connected with the master's family for generations, are likely to be promoted by their Heh-I masters to household management. These are called "tang-chia /steward/ Wa-tzu." In each family, there is one of them who holds a higher position than the rest and may be considered as their leader. He usually lives in his master's house. If his duties include the preparation of meals and cooking, then he is called "kuo-chuang Wa-tzu." When the responsibilities of management and cooking are divided between two persons, the position of the kuo-chuang Wa-tzu is lower than that of the tang-chia Wa-tzu, but /113/ higher than that of the ordinary Wa-tzu, for he is still regarded as one trusted by the master. Due to their higher intelligence, the Chinese captives are often promoted to tang-chia Wa-tzu or kuo-chuang Wa-tzu in a few years. The Heh-I's Wa-tzu (the so-called "Pê-I) often attempt to capture some Chinese as their own Wa-tzu. These Wa-tzu's Wa-tzu naturally hold a still lower position and are therefore called "san-t'an Wa-tzu," meaning a third class Wa-tzu.

The wealth of a Heh-I is generally determined by the number of Wa-tzu under his control. He can have as many as three or four hundred at a time. Naturally in the Lolo society where civilization is still in an extraordinarily primitive stage, land development and an increase in food production are mainly dependent on human labor.